the men's tool bag, but was much larger and opened in the middle instead of at one end. Some women preferred this shape for storing the narrow white belly skins with which they decorated their garments, but it was far less common than the deeper rounded type. 296 281 415

In summer these bags of spare clothing were cached on top of high rocks out of reach of foxes. Rain occurred so rarely that their exposure to the weather brought little harm. In winter they were stored in a cupboard-like hole under the bed, or on the retaining wall outside the house. [353]

[illegible]

The willow mattress and bed skins have been described in Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. XII, page 61. The sleeping bag was merely a long sack made from the heavy autumn skins of the caribou, sinews or slit half-way down one side so that the occupant could crawl into it more easily. Husband and wife slept in one large bag; each child had a bag of its own. 513 [281]

1: Jenness--61-62 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 352, 354

"In front of the platform the lamp and table with their appurtenances occupy half the floor space, while the door comes in the middle of the arc at the very bottom of the wall. Usually, but by no means invariably, the lamp is to the left of the door, as seen from the inside. The natives have a curious device for supporting the lamp and table, and every family adopts the same method. One piece of the furniture consists of a long board shaped like the letter L, but widest at the elbow. This is used to form a strut, the long end, the top of the L being driven into the wall of the house, while the short end rests directly upon the floor or on top of a small block of snow. The table is a long flat board resting at one end on the elbow of the strut; the other, like the strut, to which it is at right angles, is driven deep into the wall. It thus lies parallel to the front of the sleeping platform, from which it is separated by a narrow space along which the wife can move freely in and out. Both table and platform stand some two feet above the floor.

Two poles run parallel to the table and just behind it; on one side their ends are resting on the strut, while on the other they are driven into the snow wall of the hut. On top of these is placed the lamp, a shallow trough of stone with a partition usually along the back; sometimes, instead of a single lamp of large dimensions two smaller ones are used, placed end to end. Care must be taken to set the lamp horizontally, or with a slight tilt forward so that the oil will run towards the wick. Some contrivance is then required for suspending the cooking-pot above it, so a short stick, notched at its upper

end is planted [62] vertically on the edge of the main strut near its elbow; another stick is now laid across it at right angles, parallel to the strut below, with one end resting in the notch, and the other driven into the wall; this gives a second strut on top of the first. Two poles are laid across this new strut, parallel with those supporting the lamp, and the drying rack, an oval hoop of wood with rawhide webbing is set on top of them. From the foremost pole, the one that lies nearest the sleeping platform, the pot is suspended by two cords in such a way that it hangs about half an inch above the flame of the lamp, while from the pole behind shoes and other small articles that require drying are suspended. If two families share a dwelling, or the man has a second wife, another lamp and its outfit is set up in similar fashion on the opposite side of the hut. Often the space is vacant, and a little girl will play at housekeeping in this corner, erecting a lamp there for herself, either a small one made of soapstone in the usual manner, or merely a hollow pebble from the beach."

1: Jenness--63 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 354

"A snow-hut is a very comfortable dwelling even in mid-winter, unless the temperature falls unusually low and a blizzard is raging out of doors. Even then, in a well-built hut with a long semi-subterranean (2) passage, the natives are not uncomfortable, provided that the lamp can be kept burning to its full extent."

"2. i.e., partly under the surface of the snowdrift."

1: Jenness--79 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 352, 354

"The interior arrangements of the spring tent are the same as in the snow-hut. When erected over a floor of snow it has a sleeping-platform, table and lamp exactly like the hut. On bare ground a platform is impracticable, but the bedding is arranged in the same way, though on a level with the floor. If the family still have a lamp and blubber they set it on the ground in the usual place, and arrange the cooking pot above it on two stones, one on each corner of the lamp. In most places, however, by the time the snow has melted there is plenty of other fuel available, willow or heather of the Dryas octopetala, and the stone lamp is cached away until the fall. In fine weather cooking takes place out of doors, but whenever it is cold or windy a hearth is made just inside the doorway. The smoke soon fills the tent and slowly drifts out of the entrance; if it becomes unendurable the flap in the rear of the tent is raised a little, and the current of air that pours in drives the smoke through the doorway."

1: Jenness--108-109 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
354

"The Copper Eskimos use the seeds of the Eriophorum or cotton-grass more than those of the ground willow for both tinder and lampwicks. Large quantities of these Eriophorum seeds are collected during the late summer and fall and are stored in small bags of one kind or another, often made from a loon's foot, or a squirrel skin, or the lining round the heart of a caribou or bear. The tedious process of stripping the stalks from the seeds is done by the women in spare moments in their houses. For the lamp-wick the Eriophorum seeds are dipped in the blubber, then drawn up on to the edge of the lamp and pinched into a low ridge all along its rim. Such a wick requires renewing every day, whereas a tinder bag will last for months. In winter, if the lamp expires in one house, a fire-stick dipped in blubber is kindled at a neighbour's lamp and carried over in a bag or other convenient receptacle. Eriophorum seeds are [109] sometimes used in this way, but more usually a torch of matted moss roots dipped in blubber. During a migration, of course, every lamp is extinguished, so the natives have to resort to pyrites on such occasions."

2: Stefansson--64 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
354

"When everything is in readiness she takes a little blubber, crushes it with a blubber pounder and about half fills the bowl of the lamp. Then she takes from a bag either a piece of moss or some fuzz of the pussy willow and spreads a layer for a wick along the forward rim of the lamp. She now strikes a light by knocking together two pieces of iron pyrites above a bit of pussy willow fuzz which is used for tinder."

2: Stefansson--70 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 412, 354

"Clubs or mallets of musk-ox horn are used for pounding blubber before it is put in the lamp so the oil may run out more freely."

2: Stefansson--242-243 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
354, 117

"Use of Stone Lamps and Pots. The lamp and stone pot are a pretty satisfactory cooking apparatus. A lamp takes perhaps double the time of a 'primus' to boil water, but it can be left for hours unattended, and if one wished (but this they probably never do) one could leave a pot on going to sleep and find boiling water in the morning. It seemed to me those who [243] used stone pots took less time in cooking than those who had iron or tin ones (over half of them), but this is perhaps because the stone ones are long to fit the lamp flame, the iron ones are round and therefore with less heating surface."

2: Stefansson--245 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
354, 117

"Houses. The lamp platform in most houses is a piece of wood split from the root of a large drift log. This splitting is done with numerous small wooden wedges. The platform resting on a cake of snow, as described some days ago, is after all, on visiting more houses, found to be very rare."

19: Cadzow--26-28 (No date) 1924 Copper Eskimo
116, 354

"Few Arctic explorers have failed to note the important part the lamp plays in the lives of the Eskimo, whose entire domestic life seems to be directed toward this household appliance. Indeed it may be said that their very existence depends on the possession of the lamp, because it has made possible their occupancy of an otherwise uninhabitable region. Although in accessible parts the primus stove is now being used by the Eskimo for heating and cooking, the native lamp is always held in reserve for emergencies.

Eskimo lamps are made of stone, earthenware, bone, and sometimes of wood, depending largely on the material at hand. They are made in a variety of forms, but certain types seem to prevail throughout the northern edge of the American continent. Steatite is the favorite material for the manufacture of lamps and cooking vessels, because it is easily carved, it retains heat, and may be repaired when broken. Seal-oil and blubber are preferred for burning in the lamps, but caribou and other animal fats are sometimes used.

There are two kinds of lamps in use among the Eskimo--the small traveler's lamp, and the large house lamp that belongs to the women. Sometimes a very small lamp is used only for lighting purposes in the house. When an Eskimo family is on the [27] move the large lamps are usually well wrapped in a bundle of skins and carried by the women on their backs in order to prevent breakage by the bumping of the sled over the rough ice, should they be packed thereon with other belongings.

Among the ethnological specimens recently acquired [AW: by the Museum of the

American Indian] is a collection of steatite lamps and cooking vessels from the Copper Eskimo of Coronation gulf, which makes the series of such utensils in the Museum exceptionally complete. Unique in this new collection are two lamps of extraordinary size--one measuring 41 inches long and averaging 8 inches in width, the other 37 inches long by 9 inches in width. These lamps are of the long, narrow type common to the Coronation Gulf region, with straight fire edge and rounding ends. The larger lamp averages 3 inches in height, with a moss-pan 4 inches wide and an inch and a half deep. The lip of this lamp, upon which the burning moss rested, tapers from an inch and a half at the bottom of the pan to the fire edge. In use, the length of the flame required on the fire edge varied according to the size of the cooking vessel or the warmth of the house. A reservoir for holding the fuel is cut in the back of the lamp and raised three-eighths of an inch from the bottom of the pan; it is an inch and a half wide in the center and tapers to three-quarters of an inch at the ends, the inside wall being the [28] same height as the lamp, with channels cut at the extremities to allow the melting fuel to flow into the moss. The function of the reservoir is to regulate the flow of oil to the moss wick.

In construction the smaller of the two lamps closely resembles the large one, with the exception that it is an inch wider, and has a larger reservoir, with a channel cut in the center of the wall, as well as at the extremities."

412 Two incidents that came directly under my notice in the summer of 1915
322 were fairly typical. A native with whom I was travelling in southwest Victoria Island discovered on the beach a long, nail-studded plank that had presumably fallen overboard from some vessel. He carried it several miles inland to our camp, and there spent half a day splitting it into poles for fish-spear handles, two of which he sold to a kinsman. A few days later another native found a second plank, which he proposed to convert into a sled-runner, and with this purpose in view trimmed it slightly with his hunting knife. After consulting his companions, however, he decided that a new sled-runner was not needed, so he turned the [239] plank over to his stepfather to fashion into tent-poles. In each case the native split the plank with a crude antler wedge driven home by a boulder.

322 The uses of wood were naturally manifold. From it were made the sled,
[302] the tent-poles, the frame of the kayak, the snow shovel, the table, food trays, and other articles too numerous to mention. Odd chips of wood sometimes
824 served as fuel during the summer months, although the Eskimo preferred
513 heather or willow twigs. Willow twigs had a special use; sewn together in a long strip they provided a mattress to protect the bedskins from the snow.

STONE

333 Stone (apart from native copper) played an astonishingly small rôle in the economy of the Copper Eskimo. Their winter home was invariably the snow-
[342] hut, although their predecessors in the region had dwelt in huts of snow or wood, whose ruins could still be traced in numerous places along the coast. Loose stone boulders held down the edges of the Copper Eskimo tents; pillars of stone (in many cases flat slabs of dolomite easily piled one on top of another) supported kayaks, sleds, and other goods that were temporarily abandoned during the summer months; and heaped-up boulders protected caches of meat or clothes from the ravages of foxes, wolves, and birds; but any real construc-
324 tion in stone was conspicuously lacking. There were no stone knives or adzes,
412 no arrow heads tipped with stone, no stone sinkers for fishing lines or nets, and no stone scrapers for use on wood or hides, although implements of all these types had been used by the earlier inhabitants and were sometimes gathered as curiosities by the Copper Eskimo themselves. There were stone hammers and whetstones, it is true, but these were merely unshaped pebbles picked up when
[415] the need arose and afterwards discarded. In short, stone provided the material for two objects only, the lamp and the cooking pot; and the stone cooking pot
[354] was discarded soon after our visit in favour of iron vessels brought in from
[177] the outside.

135

Figure 1. Lamp of native copper. IV.D.1441. 1/1.

324 These two vessels, the lamp and the cooking pot, were invariably made from
415 soapstone (talc chlorite schist), originally with copper-bladed adzes, but in our
354 time with adzes of iron. Freshly quarried soapstone readily scratches with the
316
[135]

fingernail, so that the labour of manufacturing even a large vessel was comparatively slight, never requiring more than a few days. We saw no pots made of any other material, but from Prince Albert Sound we obtained two lamps, one fashioned from a red sandstone, the other from an igneous rock, that could hardly have been hollowed out with adzes in the ordinary way, but must have been shaped by some pecking and grinding process. Their owners knew nothing about their manufacture, and there is good reason to believe that they were not made by the Copper Eskimo, but came in from Hudson Bay.[1]

As stated in the introduction, the natives considered their amygdaloidal copper,[2] which took the place of stone, bone, or ivory in so many of their implements, as merely a peculiar stone that they could work into shape, cold, by hammering with boulders and pebbles (Figure 1). Whether they were able to drill copper before they obtained iron is uncertain; if so, they must have used stone- or copper-pointed drills. In our time they still retained one or two of these copper-pointed drills, but used them, so far as we observed, only on bone, antler, and wood.

Figure 2. Lump of galena, used for marking skins. IV.D.200. 1/1.

The only important mineral besides copper was iron pyrites, which the Eskimo gathered mainly in the beds of two streams, Kugaluk River in the southwest of Victoria Island and a creek a few miles east of Coppermine River. There were other sources, however, that I failed to record. This mineral served the natives instead of flint and steel for striking fire. They possessed also a few fragments of galena (Figure 2) and litharge, which they used for marking skin and wood; the galena came mostly from Galena Point in Bathurst Inlet, but the source, or sources, of the litharge is not known.

BONE, ANTLER, HORN, IVORY

The caribou and the musk-ox supplied nearly all the bone that the Copper Eskimo required, although for shoeing the runners of their sleds they used rib bones from occasional whales that drifted up on their shores. There was hardly a bone in the two land animals that could not be turned to some purpose. Leg bones were in special demand for skin stretchers, for needle-cases, and for sheathing the wooden ends of harpoon shafts; another type of skin stretcher was fashioned from a caribou or musk-ox shoulder blade. The ribs served for handles of various kinds, for small toggles, pins, and bows for the drilling set. Other toggles were made from the breast or pelvic bones, and the astragalus provided a ready made mouthpiece for the drill.

The caribou alone provided antler, which was just as useful as bone, and interchangeable with that material for most purposes. On the other hand, ivory, which Eskimo elsewhere often substituted for bone and antler, was extremely rare, because neither the narwhal nor the walrus frequents the waters adjacent to the Copper Eskimo territory; consequently, the few ivory objects we saw among the natives almost certainly reached them by trade from the east or the west. Sheep likewise were absent, so that all the horn in use came from the musk-ox. This horn sometimes took the place of bone or antler, but it was especially prized for the manufacture of ladles, scoops, drinking horns, toggles for the sled, and hammers for pounding blubber.

Originally the Copper Eskimo used only four tools, all with copper blades, for shaping bone, antler, and horn, viz., the adze, the whittling knife, the grooving

[1] See p. 66.

[2] For the sources of this copper see Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 22; vol. XI, pt. A, p. 22 et seq.

CHAPTER III

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

FIRE-MAKING

372 The Copper Eskimo were familiar with the method of making fire by means of the thong drill, but rarely practised it because it involved strenuous labour and suitable wood was rare. The handles of some of their whittling [42] knives and other tools had small holes to fit the top of the spindle, for a man pressing down with both hands could exert greater force than was obtainable with the usual drill mouthpiece. Figure 46 shows the hearth of an old fire-making apparatus; the specimen was discovered on the beach at Kater Point, close to Bathurst Inlet.

372 The ordinary method of making fire was by striking 316 together two pieces of iron pyrites, for which there were several sources around Coronation Gulf, the two best known being Kugaluk River, which flows down from the Colville Hills in southwest Victoria Island into the sea behind Cape Kendall, and a small river a few miles east of Coppermine River. The pyrites was occasionally covered with sealskin or caribou skin to protect the hand.

372 The spark was caught in willow catkins contained in a 237 small disk-shaped bag of sealskin closed with a circular lid 415 of the same material (Figure 47). A little blowing soon spread the glow over a large surface so that it could ignite [824] a lamp-stick or a bunch of matted moss roots dipped in blubber. To foment a flame, however, most Eskimo kept a little stock of dry grass, which, like the lamp-wick of eriophorum seed, they carried in small bags made from the lining around the heart of some animal (Figure 48), from the skin on a loon's foot (Figure 49), or from caribou or marmot fur.

Figure 46. Wooden hearth of fire drill. IV.D.219. 1/3.

LAMPS

354 Many writers have stressed the fundamental importance of the Eskimo blubber lamp, without which the natives could not have survived along the northern coast-line. [198] Although in certain regions they have now adopted substitutes such as stearin candles, coal-oil lamps, wood stoves, and primus stoves, throughout large parts of the Arctic the blubber lamp still holds its own.

Porsild[1] states that "In Arctic regions proper, train-oil is the only fuel, and there the lamps are large; where other fuel [372] —heather, wood, peat or coal—is available, either the whole year round or only in the summer, the lamp used for burning blubber oil loses its importance as a heater, and is used

[113] [1] Porsild, Morten P.: The Material Culture of the Eskimo in West Greenland; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. 52, p. 324.

354 solely for illuminating purposes. For this, small specimens may suffice. But a
[511] surplus of light and heat is inevitably connected with the Eskimo idea of luxury;
[171] therefore big lamps are also found in such regions. Conversely, small and rudely made lamps for burning blubber oil are found also in the regions of the Far North.

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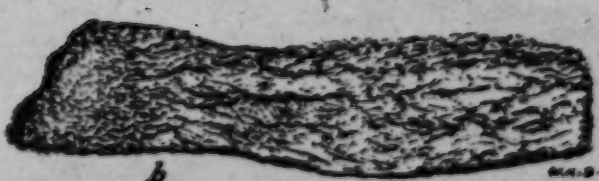

b

Figure 47. Fire-lighting apparatus; a: sealskin tinder-bag containing oriophorum seeds, IV.D.726, 1/1; b: moss-root torch, IV.D.327, 1/2.

354 The reason for this may either be lack of material, or these lamps may be
171 intended for some particular purpose—for use on journeys or for illuminating the entrance or corners inside the house."

Hough again, in his well-known memoir,[1] distinguishes three kinds of Eskimo lamps on the basis of their use, viz. the house lamp, the travelling or summer lamp, and the mortuary lamp, the latter frequently being models.

Figure 48. Bag for dry grass, made from the lining around an animal's heart. IV.D.235. 1/1.

Neither of these statements is quite correct when applied to the Copper Eskimo. They had lamps of every size, from 2 or 3 inches long up to 50 inches; and small vessels 8 or 12 inches long were as common as lamps of 30 inches. From June to September or October, when most of the snow had melted from the land and the families were scattered in search of fish and caribou, the natives generally cached their lamps with the sleds on the seashore or on the margins of lakes, and used for fuel dwarf willow, heather, *Dryas integrifolia*, and other plants, instead of blubber. Consequently, they had no special summer lamp. But because their ordinary lamp seldom functioned during the summer months we cannot say with Porsild that it had lost its importance as a heater. It still remained the indispensable prerequisite of existence during two-thirds of the year for heat as well as for light.

[1] Hough, Walter: Ann. Rept. Smith. Inst., U.S. Nat. Mus., 1898, p. 1008.

Lamps only 2 or 3 inches long were children's toys, often made by themselves while their parents were manufacturing larger vessels. The Copper Eskimo placed on the graves of females these minature lamps, or else genuine vessels of small size, simply because they valued their larger lamps too highly to throw them away, and believed that the dead person could enlarge a miniature to suit its needs. Frequently, perhaps generally, they recovered useful lamps that had been deposited on the graves of relatives a few years earlier. Very rarely did they make a lamp, even a miniature one, for mortuary purposes only; and when they did, it was nearly always a wooden model, because soapstone was procurable only in one or two districts.

Figure 49. Bag for grass or cricophorum seeds, made from bear's feet. IV.D.324. 1/1.

Most of the cooking was done on lamps not less than 24 inches long. Lamps smaller than this, even down to 5 and 6 inches, served for short journeys, but were not intended primarily for that purpose any more than to be deposited on graves. Rather they were used to dry extra clothes, to give additional light for sewing or working, or to enable a little girl to play at housekeeping in a corner of the hut. Two small lamps laid side by side sometimes took the place of one large lamp for cooking. When these smaller specimens were made of soapstone the shapes were the same, and the workmanship as careful, as in the larger ones. Frequently, however, a family was content to use a water-worn pebble with a saucer-shaped depression, or a naturally hollow slab of limestone or dolomite.

If we exclude the makeshift lamps last mentioned there was really only one kind among the Copper Eskimo, the regular house lamp, of which the smaller specimens, when not mere toys, were generally used for light alone, the larger for both light and heat. Nearly all were made of talc chlorite schist, a soapstone that is soft, of even texture, easily worked with stone or copper tools, and not liable to crack and break under the low heat of the burning blubber.[1]

[1] In their spring tents the Eskimo sometimes rested the lamp directly on two snow blocks and kept them lighted for a considerable time without other effect than the gradual melting of the snow.

I know of only one source for this material that is used at the present time by the Copper Eskimo, Port Epworth at the mouth of Tree River in Coronation Gulf where the talc chlorite schist occurs as an inclusion in the granite. It is very coarse in texture, and of a pale grey colour, as can be seen in unused specimens or by fracturing an old one.

Nevertheless, there seem once to have been other sources. An old woman who lived at the east end of Coronation Gulf told me that long ago her people used to make lamps and pots from stone obtained in a quarry on Rae River. An early explorer, John Rae, did find soapstone at the fall 10 miles from the mouth of this river,[1] but only in thin beds, which might explain why the Eskimo ceased to use this source. Then again, I purchased from a Coronation Gulf native a little toy lamp of typical Copper Eskimo shape (Figure 50), which was certainly not made from the Port Epworth soapstone, for it is much finer in texture and of a pale green colour. In the same region I obtained also an unfinished implement, resembling an imitation lance-head, which was made from a very similar soapstone, but is yellowish green. Finally, from the west coast of Hudson Bay, probably from Chesterfield Inlet, the museum has a toy lamp (IV.C.165) that resembles in colour, texture, and graining the green toy lamp bought in Coronation Gulf; in shape and dimensions the two are practically identical except that the Hudson Bay specimen has no shelf. Morley E. Wilson, of the Geological Survey, Canada, expressed the opinion that these lamps almost certainly came from the same quarry, because this type of soapstone is exceedingly rare in Canada, and that the implement like a lance-head was also derived from the same locality. It is worth noting that there are deposits of soapstone near the mouth of Back River.

Figure 50. Toy lamp, of pale green soapstone. IV.D.813. 1/1.

Up to a few years ago natives from Dolphin and Union Strait in the west to Amundsen Gulf in the east often migrated to the Port Epworth quarry in the spring of the year in order to manufacture their own lamps and pots. Each family usually made more vessels than it required for its own use in order to have some for barter when it returned home the following autumn or winter.

Women and children often fashioned the smaller lamps and pots. The larger ones were the work of the men, although once they were finished and handed over to the housewife they became her exclusive property. No special skill was required; children 10 years of age could make small lamps just as good as those made by their elders. A little more care was necessary in working at a pot, because the rock, though soft, was somewhat brittle, and the walls and bottom had to be comparatively thin; but even this was not beyond the ability of a child, as it required patience rather than technical skill. With his crude copper tools a native could quarry out his block and make the largest lamp that was ever used in about 3 days, and the largest pot in no more than a day longer; iron tools, of course, appreciably lessened the time. First, he chiselled

[1] Richardson, Sir John: Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land, vol. I, p. 313. London, 1851

324 clear of the solid rock a block equal to the length of the desired lamp or pot,
316 then gradually hewed it into shape and smoothed it all over by rubbing it with
412 any kind of hard, smooth stone. Formerly the copper-bladed ice chisel served
461 for quarrying the block, and the copper-headed adze for shaping it, but in more
354 recent times the Eskimo have used hatchets, geological hammers, and chisels with iron blades.

354

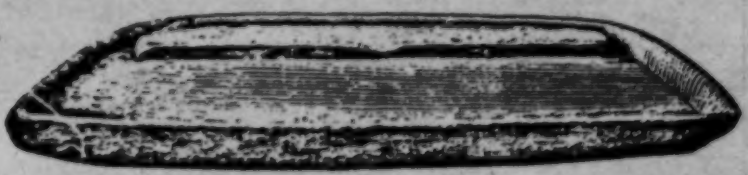

Figure 81. Typical Copper Eskimo lamp. IV.D.687. Approx. 1/4.

The typical Copper Eskimo lamp resembled in shape the lesser segment of a circle in which a large part of the arc was flattened until it was roughly parallel with the sector, whereas the sector itself was very slightly convex. Figure 81 illustrates this general shape. The convexity of the sector was occasionally very marked; and, conversely, the arc was sometimes hardly flattened at all, so that in a few specimens the shape approached an ellipse. The lamp outlined in Figure 82 shows a marked tendency in this direction.

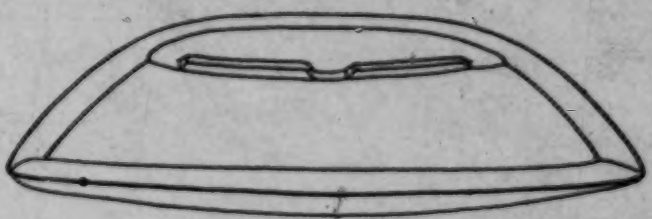

Figure 82. A nearly elliptical lamp. IV.D.681. Approx. 1/4.

The bottom of the lamp was invariably flat. The edges, which were perpendicular, or almost so, on the outside, ranged in thickness from 1¼ inches to 3½ inches, and formed a narrow, well-defined rim around the oil well, which comprised the whole body of the lamp hollowed out to a depth of from 1 inch to 1½ inches. The front edge, or lip, sloped down to the well at an angle of around 45 degrees, but elsewhere the edges were practically as perpendicular inside as outside. The well of the lamp was flat like the bottom, not rounded like a saucer. Most lamps were divided into two compartments by a raised ridge parallel to the front and back edges, but very much nearer the back; and the level of the back compartment was nearly always above that of the front, or well proper, thus forming a kind of shelf from which the oil could flow forward through two gaps at the extremities of the dividing ridge, and, in most of the

larger lamps, through a third, V-shaped gap in its middle. Many small lamps, however, and a few of the larger ones, were not divided into compartments (Figure 83); others had only a very narrow shelf along the back[1] (Figure 84). 354

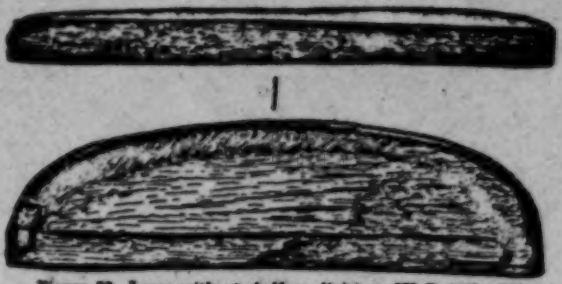

Figure 83. Lamp without shelf or division. IV.D.1306. 1/1.

The largest lamp of which I have any record, 53½ inches long, was purchased by Capt. J. Bernard in Coronation Gulf. Other large lamps that I measured in the snow-houses of this region had the following dimensions:

Maximum length	Maximum breadth	Thickness at rim	Breadth of shelf
Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches
41	10	2¼	3¼
43	10	3	2
46	9	2½	1½
48	8¼	3¼	3½
50	9½	3¼	2¾
52¼	11¼	2½	3

These six lamps had the same general shape; in each the shelf extended along the entire back and communicated with the well through three gaps in the dividing ridge, one at each end and one in the middle. A similar lamp (IV.D.843) brought back from the same region is 37 inches long, but has only two gaps in the dividing ridge, one at each end.

Figure 84. Lamp with very narrow shelf. IV.D.664. Approx. 1/3.

Ninety per cent of the lamps in use among the Copper Eskimo were of the general type described above, viz., rather shallow, flat-bottomed vessels with nearly perpendicular sides, a wick edge almost straight that sloped down at about half a right angle to the well, and a back edge either straight or slightly convex; the bottom of the well was flat, not saucer-shaped, and sometimes divided into two compartments. No other Eskimo group seems to have used

[1] It seems not unlikely that this ridge is a survival of an earlier wick-edge while the lamp, similar to those on Aberdeen pottery lamps.

No other Eskimo group seems to have used lamps of this type unless derived by them in trade from the Copper Eskimo, for their convenient shape and large size caused them to command an extensive market. Not only were they bartered from group to group throughout the Coronation Gulf area, but they were traded along the coast to the Netchilik Eskimo of King William Island, and westward beyond the natives of Mackenzie delta to Barrow.[1]

Their value naturally increased according to their distance from the source of supply. Thus, on the west coast of Victoria Island, when the small 12-inch lamp (Figure 55) fell and shattered its back rim, its owner, or more probably her husband, did not discard it, as she would probably have done in Coronation Gulf, but made an entirely new back piece of wood, which she lashed through three holes with cords of sealskin or plaited sinew.[2] The larger lamps, of course, were mended everywhere, sometimes with another piece of soapstone, more usually with wood, which was cemented with seal blood and secured with lashings.

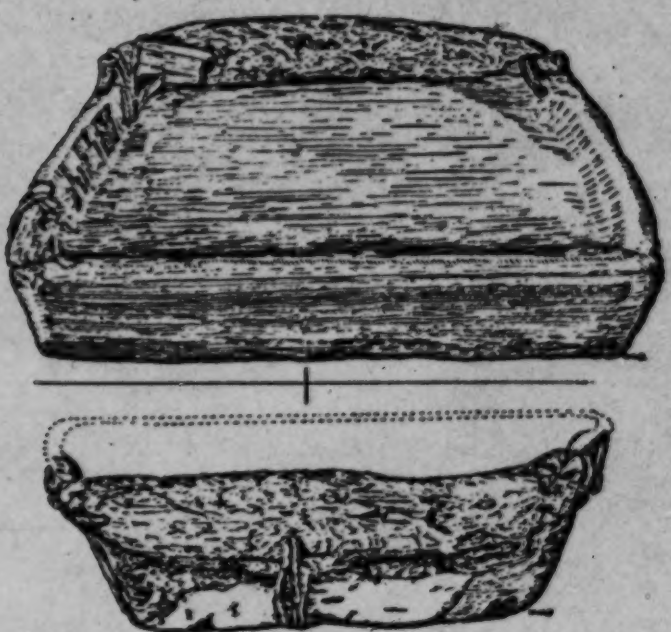

Figure 55. Lamp repaired with wood. IV.D.1000. Approx. 1/2.

The National Museum of Canada possesses two very shallow ellipsoidal lamps, obtained in Prince Albert Sound, that have no partitions, are rounded on the bottoms, inside and outside, and must be tilted forward to permit the oil to flow to the wick. One (Figure 56), 15¼ inches long by 8½ inches wide, has been

[1] Cf. Simpson, John: The Western Eskimo; Arctic Papers for the Expedition of 1875, London, 1875, p. 267.
[2] The specimen is too heavily encrusted with blubber to determine the exact material of the lashings.

One (Figure 56), 15 1/4 inches long by 8 1/2 inches wide, has been fashioned from a basic igneous rock that seems to be gabbro; the other (IV.D.69), 13 inches long by 7½ inches wide, from an impure red sandstone. These two lamps greatly resemble some from Hudson Bay, and probably came from that direction; for although the Victoria Islanders commonly obtained their lamps from Coronation Gulf, they sometimes travelled south by way of Bathurst Inlet and traded with Eskimo in the vicinity of Back River.

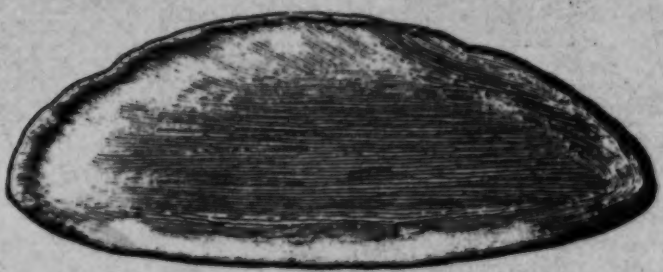

Figure 56. Lamp made from igneous rock. IV.D.67. 1/2.

In the snow-hut the lamp rested directly on two stout sticks laid parallel with one another behind the table. Care was taken to render it perfectly horizontal, or with a slight tilt forward, as a backward tilt prevented the oil from flowing to the wick. On one side both table and sticks were supported by an L-shaped board or strut (Figure 57) of which the long arm was driven into the snow wall near the door, and the short arm rested on the floor or was raised to the proper angle on a block of snow; on the other side, they were pushed into the side wall of the hut. Thus, both lamp and table paralleled the front edge of the sleeping platform, leaving a gap just wide enough for the housewife to slide into her seat.

Figure 57. Strut for supporting table. IV.D.999. Approx. 1/12.

Occasionally a family lacked a proper strut to support the lamp and supplied its place with snow blocks. In the spring tent, too, the sticks and boards naturally rested on snow blocks because there was no snow wall to support them. In the late spring and throughout the summer, when most of the household furniture had been stored in caches and the Eskimo were moving over the land,

354 352 two or three stones supported the lamp; and on short winter journeys, wh lamp served only for light, it was simply placed on a block of snow. As al stated, it was seldom employed during the summer months.

354 824 [137] [237] [415] Unlike nearly all Eskimo tribes the Copper Eskimo seldom or neve moss for the lamp-wick, but substituted the seeds of the cottongrass, *Eriop angustifolium*, or, more rarely, the catkins of the dwarf willow, either of gave a more smokeless flame. *Eriophorum angustifolium* matures abou beginning of September, and it was at that season the women gathere seeds into small bags made of loon skin, marmot skin, or other conv material. They gathered a large supply, as in midwinter the wick needed renewing; and they deferred the separation of the seeds from the stalks leisure moments in camp.

354 372 237 462 [171] *Lighting and Tending the Lamp.* The Copper Eskimo lighted and t their lamps in the same way as the Eskimo of Smith Sound[1] except that did not chew the blubber and spit it into the lamp. The housewife too of a sealskin poke two or three strips of blubber a foot or more lo several inches wide, and with a specially designed hammer of musk-ox (*See* Figure 63) pounded them on the table to break up the cells.[2] She laid them in the well of the lamp, when a little oil began at once to accum on the bottom, unless the weather was extremely cold. In this oil she s [824] her eriophorum seeds, and arranged them along the lip of the lamp in a tinuous line so that their lower edges touched the bottom of the well (or at dipped into the oil that shortly accumulated), and the upper edges pro about a quarter of an inch above the rim. To light the wick she pinched into little points 2 or 3 inches apart, which readily caught fire from the and by patting up adjacent parts of the wick with her lamp-trimmer she q produced a continuous smokeless flame rising to a height of about three-qu of an inch. As the heat melted the oil out of the strips of blubber, she re them to the back shelf of the lamp until they drained; then, later, she them to the dogs. Sometimes, if the lamp already contained a certain qu of oil, she placed fresh strips of pounded blubber on the same shelf inst in the well, so that the oil would not accumulate too rapidly and drip ov outer edges of the lamp. The Copper Eskimo had no device for meltin blubber on a stick or shelf, such as was common in both the eastern and w Arctic.

354 462 Hough[3] says that lamp-trimming "only reached perfection in the old w of the tribe, who can prepare a lamp so that it will give a good, steady for several hours, while usually half an hour is the best that can be expe This is not true of the Copper Eskimo. There, the women naturally have experience than the men, and on the average are more skilful, but m hunter can tend the wick just as successfully as his wife. A lamp is s allowed to smoke; one of the inmates, be it the man, his wife, or even the children, is sure to notice it and pat down the wick.

354 415 [171] The same writer states in another passage[4] that "the lamp and th usually agree as to size, the rule being that the length of the pot shall be to the length of the wick edge." Among the Copper Eskimo, as in Smith and, I believe, elsewhere, the sizes of the two vessels bear no direct relat one another. For obvious reasons the wick edge of the lamp should shorter than the bottom of the pot; but it may be, and often is, much for with her lamp-trimmer the housewife can readily adjust the flame to ever length she desires.

[113] [1] Cf. Stroudey, H. F.: Contributions to the Ethnology and Anthropology of the Polar Eskimos: Meddel Grønland, vol. XXXIV, p. [illegible].
[2] Polar bear fat was occasionally used instead of seal blubber, and probably fat of any kind in emergencies.
[3] Hough: op. cit., p. [illegible].
[4] Hough: op. cit., p. [illegible].

The lamp-trimmer mentioned several times above was in most cases merely a pencil of wood varying in length from 6 to 18 inches, generally flattened at one end and smoothed. Any small stick, whether of wood, bone, or antler, sufficed in an emergency; I have even seen a man use his knife. The stone (soapstone or asbestos) pencils, often employed in West Greenland and in Hudson Bay,[1] seem to have been unknown to the Copper Eskimo. Unknown, too, were the drip-stands of Alaska, Greenland, and other places. The Coronation Gulf soapstone is not porous as the Greenland soapstone is said to be[2]; and though oil might frequently drip over the edges, it never seeped through the vessel itself. 354 412 [135]

Every household employed torches for lighting extra lamps, for searching the corners of the hut, and particularly for conveying fire from one snow-hut to another. Occasionally a woman used the lamp-stick or even raw lamp-wick, but she always kept for the purpose four or five bunches of matted moss roots that she had collected and dried in the late summer (Figure 47b). Such a torch, dipped in the melted blubber, would burn several minutes, though if carried outside in windy weather it had to be shielded inside a bag or bucket. It was a common sight after a day's march to see the women carrying torches from one hut to another in order to relight their lamps; the first lamp, of course, was lighted with pyrites. 416 [824]

In summer, when the lamp was discarded, the Eskimo carefully extinguished their open-air fires with flat stones in order to reduce the burning wood to charcoal, which readily took a spark on some future occasion and could be kindled into a flame with the breath. In blowing the fire they did not purse their lips as we do, but curled the tongue along the lower palate into a half-cylinder that directed the breath along a narrow path. When carrying glowing coals from one tent or cooking place to another the women usually wrapped them in bunches of dry heather or *Dryas integrifolia;* where no coals were available they used the heather or dryas alone. 372 [824] [137]

POTS

The Back River Eskimo commonly made their cooking pot from five flat slabs of limestone cemented together.[3] Among the Copper Eskimo we saw none of this type, only pots carved from solid slabs of soapstone. Theoretically these pots should have received two forms, one adapted for cooking over the blubber lamp in winter and the other for use over an open fire during the summer months. The pot for use with the blubber lamp should have been a long, oblong vessel, rather narrow, because the flame of the lamp was a long, narrow line; it should have been comparatively deep to hold large pieces of seal and caribou meat; and it might have had considerable dimensions and weight, as it was always carried on the sled during the winter and spring months. The pot for use over an open fire in summer should have been less narrow, and altogether smaller and lighter, because at that season all the household furniture had to be carried on the back. 415 [171] [324] [252] [493] [482]

In actual fact both types existed among the Copper Eskimo, but the longer, narrower form adapted for use over the blubber lamp was far more generally used, as winter conditions prevailed during 8 months of the year. The pot was nearly always rectangular in outline, though one saw occasional specimens of trapezoid form. The corners were sharp, almost at right angles, the sides slightly convex in outline and sloping inward towards the bottom, making the vessel widest and longest at the top; the convexity in the sides was occasionally marked. In large pots there was a tendency for the depth to vary inversely with the breadth, so that the narrower vessels were likewise the deepest. 113

[1] Parfeld, H.: Op. cit., p. [illegible]. Thalbitzer, W.: The Ammassalik Eskimo; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. XXXIX, p. [illegible] (Copenhagen, [illegible]).
[2] Birket-Smith, K.: Ethnography of Egedesminde District; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. LXVI, p. [illegible] (Copenhagen, [illegible]).
[3] Chief Factor James Anderson's Back River Journal of [illegible]; Can. Field-Nat., vol. LV, [illegible], p. [illegible].

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and to serve as storage-places for the bales of clothing. In little more than an hour the lamps burned brightly again in every home and we were dining sumptuously on dried trout and frozen salmon.

The snow-hut of the Eskimo is too well known to require a detailed description. It resembles the upper half of a sphere, slightly flattened at the top, with a diameter at the floor level of about nine feet and a maximum height slightly below six. A low platform covered with musk-ox and caribou robes takes up more than half the floor space; it serves as a bed by night and a place for sitting and working during the day. The entrance, which faces the middle of the platform, is simply a hole at the bottom of the wall large enough for a person to crawl through on hands and knees; a single snow-block at night makes a satisfactory door. To the right (or left) of the entrance is the saucer-shaped lamp for burning seal-blubber; the stone cooking-pot hangs over it, and over the pot is a large tray or rack where boots and mittens are spread out to dry. A table between the lamp and the sleeping-platform completes the furniture, but bags containing meat and blubber, and dishes of various kinds, litter the floor on both sides of the entrance. Finally, a low-roofed passage extending outward from the doorway ten to thirty feet leads into the open air.

The adjoining plan of a two-roomed hut, and the photographs scattered throughout the book, will give

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ings for us, stand shyly inside the doorway, kicking their feet together restlessly as though knocking off the snow. Every one is tired after the day's journey, and as soon as the meal is ended strips off his clothes, tucks them under his head for a pillow, and glides into a sleeping-bag of caribou fur. Mrs. Light is the last to retire, for she still has some small duties to perform. She calls in the dogs from the passageway, one by one, throws them a few strips of blubber, and drives them out with the snow-duster, a short stick for beating the snow from our garments. Then she adjusts the lamp for the night, turns our boots and mittens so that they will dry on both sides, fits the snow-block into the doorway to keep out the cold air and the dogs, and slips quickly into her husband's "double" bag of caribou fur. Most of the inmates sleep with their mouths open, and their loud snores reverberating inside the hut drown the less resonant notes of the dogs in the passage.

Leaving Putulik, I rejoined my late acquaintances on Victoria Island. The sun no longer climbed above the horizon, and the "day" was limited to the twilight hours from 9:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M.; but a bright moon lit up the trail for me during the last three hours of the journey. The tribe was still living in the same settlement, for the women had not completed all the new fur clothes their families required during the winter months, and it would violate one of their most rigid taboos to finish the sewing on the sea-ice,

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line might represent the coast along which he had recently been travelling; but when I asked him to name and point out the positions of the capes and streams he had passed on the way, he placed his finger indifferently on places as far apart as Victoria Island and Great Bear Lake. Yet an Eskimo of northern Alaska, who was unable to read and had never held a pencil in his hand, once drew me a remarkably accurate outline of the Colville River and all its tributaries, besides many vivid sketches of camp scenes and the hunting of seals and caribou.

Among the specimens I bought at this time was a large lamp which we immediately put to use for warming up our tent. It was made from soft soapstone, and shaped like an enormous saucer cut in half. We filled it with crushed seal-blubber, and along the straight front edge arranged the wick of cotton-grass seeds, which are not unlike cotton-wool. The lamp, when burning perfectly, gave a low smokeless flame an inch high and about sixteen inches long, quite sufficient to keep us comfortably warm even with the door partly open; but as neither Palaiyak nor I were very skilful in adjusting the wick a thin layer of soot began to form over the inside of the tent. We hired two little girls to keep the dogs away when we were absent, and my "daughters," as the people laughingly called them, gradually assumed responsibility also for the lamp, which they managed to perfection. I rewarded them

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beneath the snow-floor, making the prohibition technically invalid. We cooked our caribou meat with easy consciences, and, when the natives upbraided us, pointed to a tiny patch of gravel exposed beneath our feet. Some accepted our verdict, most of them still disapproved; but by that time they were better acquainted with the strange ways of the white man, and believed that we could do with impunity what they could not attempt without disaster.

The village dance-house formed as usual the forecourt of two snow-huts, which kept it at an even temperature with their two large blubber-lamps. One hut was occupied by Ikpuckhuak, the elderly man who had come to my rescue when his fellow-tribesman tried to carry off my knife. Ikpuckhuak means the "Dirty One"; but the name in no wise reflected on his personal characteristics, for the Eskimos were too familiar with the lack of water during seven months of the year to pay much attention to some of its consequences. Ikpuck, as I shall call him hereafter, was actually cleaner than most of his countrymen, provided one gives the word a rather broad interpretation; and his name was no more than an ancient family title which he inherited in childhood along with his other privileges.

We spent several pleasant evenings on his sleeping-platform, reclining comfortably on caribou robes and listening to the natives in the forecourt singing their

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names, Liver and Icehouse. Both seemed rather misleading; she was really neither choleric nor frigid, but a jolly, high-spirited old lady with the warmest heart imaginable, and a tongue more prone to gossip than was strictly advisable. She received us with open arms, and resigned to us half the platform in her hut, where we slept and stored all our possessions. Since her platform looked directly into the dance-house, the centre of social life, we saw everything that happened in the community, or heard it reported to our neighbours.

January was generally the coldest, darkest, and stormiest month in the year, the only month that the Eskimos really dreaded. Blizzards often confined them to their houses five days out of seven, and even if a hunter braved the storms he could find no seal-holes through the driving snow. Hunger then reigned in every hut, and the inmates shivered with cold as they extinguished their lamps one by one to conserve the oil. But the winter of 1914-15 was unusually mild. Blizzards were rare even in January, and they were separated by periods of calm weather when the hunters captured five and six seals daily. So the lamps burned brightly in all the houses and the natives were light-hearted and happy. They gaily assembled in the dance-house each evening to while away the hours with song and dance; and their medicine-men often gave weird performances, not to relieve distress, but simply to maintain their prestige and entertain their audiences.

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225 inland would snap the lashings of their bows. This was not true, for other Eskimos who possessed no weapons except bows and arrows before the introduction of rifles hunted in the interior all through the
• [354] winter. But these inland Eskimos used caribou fat in
[171] their stone lamps, and caribou fat is a miserable substitute for seal-blubber, which gives a far purer and hotter flame. There lay the real explanation. The Coppermine Eskimos could have hunted the caribou if they wished, but they preferred the sea-ice and its more comfortable homes lit up by the burning blubber.

132 The temperature was only —30° F., 20° higher than inland, when we reached the mouth of the Coppermine; yet the cold seemed more biting, for the air was damp, the atmosphere foggy, and a slight north-
123 east wind blew directly in our faces. We struck out
[225] northward over the ice, and on the second day sighted three Eskimos standing over their seal-holes. They viewed with alarm the strange sled and toboggan, so different from any of their own; but our peace-signal banished their fears, and they joyfully guided us to their village a few miles farther on. The whole population turned out to welcome us and to assist in setting up our tent, which they seemed to understand almost
[354] as well as ourselves. They understood, also, our stove for burning wood, for they informed us that there was no driftwood within five miles of their settlement and
177 offered to lend us two stone lamps and a little blubber.

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matter. He pretended to be sound asleep when she 578
stole in, and the camp relapsed into silence, except that 593
now and then a low sob issued from the tent of The [123]
Chatterbox, who had disciplined his wife by tearing
her coat from top to bottom. Icehouse was unusually
quiet in the morning, and our visitors departed abruptly
for the hills. So once more our tent stood solitary.

In order to protect ourselves more effectively from 342
the weather we moved into the sealskin cooking-tent,
built a low rampart of turf around its base, and cov-
ered the roof with caribou hides. The small lamp 354
that Icehouse had discovered on a grave kept our new
quarters comparatively snug, and its pale, warm glow
streaming through the half-open door guided us home
in the darkness from our weary hunts. The weather 132
was stormier now, the nights much longer; in a few
more weeks the sun would set for its midwinter sleep.
This shortness of the daylight restricted our excur- 132
sions, so that we added no more than two caribou to 224
the total we had laid aside in our caches. Sometimes [512]
we did not go hunting at all, but kept watch in turn
from the look-out post and scraped caribou hides inside
the tent. Icehouse made herself a pair of trousers 294
from a skin that I scraped, and, rising at 2 A.M. a morn- 123
ing or two afterward, made a similar garment for
me by the light of her blubber-lamp. So the days 484
passed monotonously. At last Ikpuck decided that it

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157 "Perhaps."
123 "You can use it for dog-food, you know."
"Yes." And I continued on.
"By the way, I'm Big-Tooth, you know."
"Yes, Big-Tooth."
"By the way—". But I pretended not to hear him and hurried to overtake Patsy. Big-Tooth was a good fellow and deservedly popular; yet even his countrymen, whose own minds moved in constant circles round the material present, took to flight whenever he joined in a conversation.

342 On reaching the islands we erected a tent inside an unusually large snow-hut that opened into Ikpuck's dwelling. This was an admirable arrangement for
• 354 two reasons; the hut gave us shelter from the wind,
313 and the tent made it possible to set up a stove where we could burn some of the driftwood that lined the
124 western beaches of the island. Here, with more pri-
126 vacy, we made another attempt to investigate the mythology and religion of the people. Ikpuck and Icehouse gladly told us all they knew, and though not well versed in the traditional lore of their people, they could direct us to better informants. We then closeted ourselves with two old men, whose hearts we warmed with some hard biscuits and cups of steaming chocolate. The comfortable tent and the unusual beverage loosened their tongues, and when one man